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AN

ANSWER

To a Late

PROPOSAL

For uniting the KINGDOMS of

Great-Britain and Ireland,

W I T H

Some occasional Remarks there-
on ; shewing, that these Kingdoms
may be best preserved disunited.

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Advertisement.

A Late extraordinary Pamphlet, published in *London*, and reprinted here*, entitled, *A Proposal for uniting the Kingdoms of GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND*, having, by the large Demand for it, seemed to engross and merit the Attention of the Publick, the Author of the following Additions thereto, and Observations thereupon, thought it his Duty (as it ought to be of every honest Man and good Subject) seriously to consider what Benefit might probably accrue to both, or either Kingdom, by

* *Dublin.*

A 2 such

such an Union, and impartially to offer his Thoughts upon so interesting and important a Scheme, a Transaction of such infinite Moment, and which be-speaks our closest Attention.

And after having consider'd the Method he might best pursue, to declare his Sentiments upon so delicate a Subject, he could propose none that he thought would prove more satisfactory to the Publick, than to give the very Words of the *Schemist*, and to demonstrate that, that worthy Patriot will doubtless merit a general Applause, if his Proposal be considered in the View ('tis presumed) he intended,

tended, *viz.* *To prevent an Union,* concerning which some idle Rumours have of late been too industriously propagated: And in Proof of what is now advanced, it will be obvious from the literal Sense, and natural Result of almost every Paragraph of the Proposal, (of which the Author has not wilfully misrepresented the Truth) that not one single (substantial, real) Advantage is proposed to *Ireland* by this far fetch'd Scheme; for as the Author wrote on one Side the Water, so he has confined himself to one Side the Question, and has forgot poor *Ireland*, except where she may become serviceable to her Sister.— The Reader

Reader therefore is referred to every Thing material in the Proposal itself, which, if the broken Paragraphs and Periods had been properly supplied, would run as follows.



A



A

PROPOSAL

For preserving the Kingdoms of

Great-Britain and Ireland

DISUNITED.



HE first Principle
of all Schemes offer'd
to the Public is their
general Utility. This
alone should claim a candid
and impartial, if not a favour-
able

able Attention. Upon this Principle let the following Scheme of Disunion be tried; nor does the Person, who proposes it, wish it may succeed on any other. He truly thinks, and hopes he shall be able to prove, that it will produce to both Nations many more and greater Advantages, than either can enjoy if they be united. But before he attempts to enumerate these Advantages, it may be necessary to give a clear and certain Idea of the Dis-union he proposes.

He does not, therefore, mean any compleat or partial Union, but a compleat and perfect Disjunction of the two Kingdoms, inseparably

inseparably and perpetually dis-united ; formed into one Government, under the same King, but under their respective Laws ; and represented by their respective Parliaments ; enjoying their respective Privileges and Immunities , confined by their respective Restrictions, Prohibitions and Regulations in Trade ; having the same Alliances, the same Enemies ; and supporting their respective Establishments by their respective Taxes, Customs, Excise, both in Peace and War, that in all Instances they may become one People in Affection, as well as Interest, against every common Enemy. And however unequal *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*

land really are, or may be supposed to be, in every Circumstance of Wealth, Power, and Commerce, they may be join'd, in the Sense I have just mention'd, through all their Parts, in one great Whole, by a fair Scale of Equivalents and Proportions; as two Merchants, of very unequal Property and disproportioned Debts, may enter into Partnership of Profit, and Loss in Trade.

Let us now endeavour to prove, that by the Disunion we propose, the national Interest of each will be preserved, productive to both Nations of more numerous and greater Benefits, than

than either of them can jointly enjoy.

The principal Objects of the Attention of *Great Britain* are the Protestant Religion in general, her own present Establishment, Ecclesiastical and Civil, and the Preservation of that Balance of Power among the Nations of *Europe* which can alone maintain their common Liberty. Let us now consider if she can propose any Advantage to herself, with Regard to the first of these, the Protestant Religion, by her Union with *Ireland*.

The present Inhabitants of that Island are computed at

B 2 some-

somewhat less than two Millions, (be that as it may) but were it cultivated, as it certainly would be under the Influence of an Union, it would be capable of maintaining at least six Millions; a Number that would inevitably destroy one another, and consequently, according to the political Maxim, that too many luxuriant Branches must be lopp'd off, it would become a wealthy Colony to a neighbouring Kingdom, and consequently three Times richer than it is at present. This Maxim, like another among the Learned, who tell us, that a Number of Words are the Riches of a Language, must be understood in

in a restrained Sense; it must necessarily mean, that these Inhabitants are honest, frugal, and industrious, what all the Unions upon Earth cannot produce among the common *Irish*; and therefore, to encrease the Number of idle, extravagant, dishonest People there, must be the Ruin of that Country; as a Number of Words, if not expressive, harmonious, and precise, rather oppress a Language with a Superfluity of Sounds, than enrich it with Abundance and Variety.

For we are told what is too true, that the *Irish* Natives, who are a great Majority of the present Inhabitants, are an idle,
lazy

lazy Generation, and would become so perversely, obstinately idle, by the Discouragements of an Union, that the Example of Industry among the numberless Foreigners, who would certainly settle in the Country, would be lost upon them, or they lost in the Event; for the Charge of Idleness we do acknowledge, and must also acknowledge that it is absolutely, like some national Diseases, incurable.

For no People are by Nature industrious, beyond the Necessities of Life. What we call Conveniencies (generally a larger Term for Luxury) add a new Spirit to Labour, and encourage

rage us to bear the Fatigue that enables us to purchase them. The *Hollanders*, oppressed and enslaved by the *Spaniſh* Tyranny, had little of that Spirit of Industry, which has since made them the most powerful Republick in the World. So, the *Irish*, if over-powered by a Number of Foreigners, will be dejected, and extinguish every Spark of Industry which is now kindling in almost every Breast by (to them) very considerable and well-adapted Præmiums. But without relying upon Examples, we may venture to assert, as a Maxim founded in human Nature, that Man will never work for Man, if he does not find his

own

own proper Advantage by his Labour.

If this Reasoning appear just, let us apply it to the present State of *Ireland*, and see how every Degree of Men there find their Advantage by their respective Callings. A very large Proportion of the Lands there, is let for considerable Terms, or held by renewable Leafes: The Landlord, by thus letting his Estate, contributes greatly to the Improvement of it; for by this Means he secures substantial Tenants, who take 5 or 600 Acres a-piece, and if these be found too many for any Individual's Stock to manure, to plow, or to graze, he divides them,

them, and lets some Part to Cottagers, which is the constant Practice of *Great-Britain*; and thus the Landlord receives his Rent, the Farmer gets a moderate Subsistence, the Farm in general is well cultivated, and the poor Cottager is supported. Besides, and inferior to these, are a Set of Men called Labourers, who assist the Servants of the Gentleman or Farmer in their Country Affairs. A Labourer usually pays thirty Shillings a Year for his Cabin, with a Garden, so it is called, for his Cabbages and Potatoes, his usual Food; and in Proportion for a little Land to graze a Cow, or perhaps Half a Dozen Sheep. The Rent of his Tenement and Garden he

C pays

pays, in Labour, at five or six Pence a Day, and receives the Overplus in Money, Corn, &c. for the Maintenance of his Family; which he thus secures from Year to Year, and takes Care so far to improve his small Farm (which is enough for him) as to provide his Family a Support; and lives in as much, if not more Cleanliness, Cloathing, and Plenty, than the united *Scots*. So that upon the Whole we may conclude, that as Providence hath not created any Nation to Slavery, (the very Supposition is Impiety) surely no People will refuse to labour upon these reasonable Terms. No Kingdom can desire more than such a Subordination of Peers, Gentry, Farmers, Cottagers,

tagers, and Labourers. It were a very contemptible Nation if it did not reject every Proposal that offered to introduce any other.

From this Manner of acting, there are, generally speaking, all the aforesaid Ranks of People in *Ireland*, as in every other Nation upon Earth, the very Rich and the very Poor. From hence the two Extremes, perhaps to be found in every other Country, of Luxury and Poverty. But if the Union should take place, and increase the Number of Inhabitants, the Landlord must be under a Necessity of letting his Lands in small Parcels, the Number of

his Tenants will increase, and consequently the Trouble of collecting, and Danger of losing his Rents; the Farmers must dwindle into Cottagers, the Cottagers into Labourers, the Labourers into Pilferers, the Pilferers into Prisoners, the Prisoners to the Gallows. For when a Union (as is wisely propos'd) sends us six Millions instead of two, and packs off all our Gentry to *England*, I beg leave to say this, or something worse must be the Case of poor *Ireland*, who has Hands enough already to cultivate all her Lands, and spare many every Year to assist in his Majesty's Plantations.

As

As the Benefits of Trade will probably encourage Foreigners to settle in *Ireland*, so Merchants and Manufacturers, being Protestants, should be invited by a general Naturalization. Very fine, indeed ! We can see at this Distance how palatable the Naturalization Bill now depending in *England* is to the Inhabitants of that Kingdom. If they, with their extensive Trade, apprehend Inconveniences, well may *Ireland* expect to be overwhelm'd with the Torrent. — She wants no Assistance from Foreigners ; her Weavers are walking the Streets unemploy'd, and if she had a Trade to provide Work for

for her Inhabitants, she hath nothing more to wish: She is a Kingdom at *unity* with herself, and is become almost the Envy of her Neighbours. Suffer her to declare, that she is even now a Protestant Kingdom, and can challenge *Great-Britain* (tho' united) to produce Protestant Subjects equal to hers in Loyalty to their God or their King. The Popish Interest is become inconsiderable, and (*Ireland* especially in her Nobility and Gentry) has in the Spirit of religious Liberty, thrown off the Yoke of Transubstantiation, and the Pope's Infallibility, and disclaimed the no less bold Absurdity and Contradiction to common Sense, that of Hereditary

ditary Right and Passive Obedience. Her Sons are become the Disciples of the purest Church, that professes the Doctrines of Christ, and Subjects of the best Constitution of Government that ever blessed Mankind. How great a Support they are to each we need not say, only this; the same Strength which thus apparently maintains the present Establishment of *Great Britain* in Church and State, will undoubtedly, with equal Zeal, engage in Defence of the Protestant Religion in general, and the Liberties of *Europe*; and *Great Britain* knows it, or she would not court (if we may presume she does) a Union with her at this Day.

A great

A great Objection against the Settlement of Foreigners in *Ireland* is the Unhealthiness of the Climate ; and may it ever oppose their Naturalization. But as the Bogs, which occasion this formidable Objection, were once firm Land, so, when the *natural* Drain for the Water, upon which they lie, can be found, they will sink again to their proper Soil, and become as fruitful as any other Part of the Island. Surely the Naturalists of *Ireland* may find out this *natural* Drain, without the Aid of an *unnatural* Union. But the Author seems to suppose, that the Sun, which shines in *Ireland*, while dis-united,

united, cannot effect it, for he says, that when these Bogs shall be wholly reclaimed (a necessary good Effect to *Ireland* of an Union) the Sun of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland* united will draw a far less Quantity of Vapours, and those from a cultivated Soil, which impregnates the Air with Particles of Health. A sufficient Progress hath been already made to insure the Success of the whole, and not without some considerable Effect upon the Climate. When this great Work can be brought to Perfection, and the Lands of *Ireland* universally cultivated, we may venture to say, it will be as healthy a Country as any in

D *Europe,*

Europe, especially as it is more temperate than any other with Regard to Heat and Cold.

The next Paragraph (not altogether true) carries its Answer along with it, being calculated merely to assist the Digestion of this laudable Scheme.

Another very popular Objection there is against the Union, that *Ireland* would soon rival *Great-Britain* in her most valuable Branches of Trade. He seems to me to know very little of the Circumstances of either Nation, who pretends to compute in what Century this dreaded Rivalship may happen,
Ireland.

Ireland, it is confessed, is much improved, but, if compared to *England*, her Lands may truly be said to be still uncultivated, and her Manufactures unimproved. Her Ports, which Nature hath opened to the Trade of almost the whole World, are not known even to the Natives, excepting those who live in the neighbouring Counties. Indeed, it would be greatly useful to the general Navigation of *Europe*, to have a Chart of the Western Coast of *Ireland*, and its Harbours.

But allowing this formidable Objection of Rivalship to be just, which certainly it is not, of what Consequence will it be

D 2 to

to the great Whole, in what Part of the united Kingdoms any particular Branch of Trade shall flourish? What matters it, for Instance, and that the popular Instance, whether the Woollen Manufacture continue in the West, or whether it travels Northward, as it really does, or whether it shall go to *Ireland*, when united to *Great-Britain*?

But the People need not be alarmed; the Fact is not yet become a Matter of Dispute; and to prevent all future Apprehensions, we shall endeavour to prove, that whatever Trade *Ireland* shall gain by an Union, will not be gained from *Great-Britain*,

Britain, but from other Countries, her Rivals in Trade, or her natural Enemies.

Let us then suppose the Trade of the whole World divided into twenty Parts. Let us suppose (a very large Supposition in Favour of *Great-Britain*) that she hath five of these Parts; will not it plainly follow, that *Ireland* will gain a Proportion of three Fourths from other Countries, and only one from *Great-Britain*? Let us then compute the great additional Duties which *Ireland* must pay for the Liberty of Trade, and it will clearly appear how considerably *Great-Britain* must gain by

by this dreaded Article of
an Union.

If indeed she were able alone to supply every foreign Market with her woollen Manufactures; if no other Nation had already, or might hereafter take from her any Part of it, she would then very wisely forbid *Ireland* to meddle with it, and would certainly refuse any Union with that Kingdom. But since the *Dutch* and the *French* have already a great Share of it, and are every Year gaining yet greater; since there is a larger Demand in foreign Markets than *Great-Britain* can possibly supply, were it not worthy of her Wisdom to give,

give, at least, some Part of it to *Ireland*? And must *Ireland* be united for that End, and thank her too? Surely not. For the Irish would, in Truth, only become her Factors, since all their Wealth, after a little Circulation at Home, would certainly fix at least in Great-Britain. And if they would dispossess the French of the Turkey Woollen Trade, they can never accomplish it, until the Irish, whether united or un-united, be permitted to manufacture and export their Wool for that Purpose. But, after all, if that Branch of Trade be irretrievable, it would, however, greatly distress them, were the Irish allowed to manufacture

nufacture their Wool, since it would effectually stop that unhappy Practice of running it, by which the *French* Trade is in a great Measure supported. If so, *Great-Britain* may surely allow the Export of that Manufacture, under what Restrictions she pleases, without such an Union as is proposed.

And especially as the *Irish* attempted to regain a far more valuable Branch of the Woollen Manufacture, that of Stuffs and Camblets, which was wholly lost, by the *French* a few Years ago being able to undersell the *British* Merchant in *Portugal*, and in spite of all Prohibitions did effectually recover.

cover it, and even at this Time possess it, although apparently at the great Discount of sixteen *per Cent.* to maintain it. This is not meer Reasoning; it is more; it is Matter of Fact, and the Consequences attending it are equally manifest as the Fact itself, and equally shew *how very far from Rivalship, how greatly serviceable Ireland may be to Great-Britain, if she were allowed some Part of this Trade.*

But lest this should fail to settle the Minds of the *English* concerning this important Article, the Author proceeds to advance a manifest Untruth, *viz.* That when *Ireland* shall

E know

know her true Interest, *she will not employ her People in the Woollen Trade, beyond her own Home Consumption*, nor suffer such extended Tracts of her best Land to lie uncultivated in Sheep-walks. She will rather improve and extend her Linen Manufacture, as far more profitable, and in which she would probably soon excel the whole World, Which (I add) she is now at Liberty to extend and improve, and does so daily; and in order to cultivate the whole Kingdom, and employ every idle Hand, *that there may be no Decay, no leading into Captivity [or Union] and no complaining in our Streets*, only wants an Indulgence

gence in the Woollen Manufacture, but it is here very generously proposed, that, when she knows her true Interest, she will become united to *Great-Britain*, and help to defray her Taxes, and yet remain in *Statu quo*, as to her Trade, nay, become much worse, for her Home Consumption will be far less considerable than it is at present.

He then concludes very fairly, and we are obliged to him for it, as it is a very obvious and forcible Reason against an Union, that, ‘ in whatever Degree, or in whatever Manner *Ireland* shall increase her Wealth, we shall find a large

‘ Proportion of it annually coming to Great-Britain. The List of her Absentees is already very numerous. The Sums expended here by her People of Business, or her People of Idleness, and by her Youth for Education, are considerable. But if we suppose the Lords and Commons, chosen to be her Representatives in Parliament, residing here, perhaps the whole Year, certainly during the Sessions, with their Wives, Children, and Domestics; if we compute the Numbers, whom Business and whom Pleasure (as they will then have no COURT or PARLIAMENT in Dublin) will bring

' bring over hither, we shall be
 ' convinced how large a Part
 ' of the Treasures of that
 ' Kingdom will annually come
 ' hither, without any Possibi-
 ' lity of returning. Even the
 ' Taxes, to be remitted hither
 ' will make no inconsiderable
 ' Addition to the Account.'

In what Proportion *Ireland*
 may be supposed capable of
 paying her Share of the com-
 mon Taxes, must be left to the
Wisdom and *Integrity* of the
 Persons, whom his Majesty shall
 please to appoint in each King-
 dom, to make a fair and equi-
 table Calculation. But ' it is
 ' apparent, that even imme-
 diately, upon the very *first*
 ' good

‘ good Effects of an Union, she
‘ will be able to pay a consider-
‘ able Portion of the necessary
‘ annual Expences of the Go-
‘ vernment. Thus *Great-Bri-*
‘ *tain* will be greatly relieved
‘ under the Weight and Pres-
‘ sure of her Taxes. She may
‘ be enabled to support ano-
‘ ther War, when the Ambi-
‘ tion or Injustice of her Neigh-
‘ bours shall make it necessa-
‘ ry.’ And *Ireland* be oblig’d
to pay the Piper. How kind
a Proposal this, for *Ireland* to
bear the Expence of *Great-*
Britain’s Quarrels with her
Neighbours!

But this is one of the *first*
good Effects of an Union. And
there-

therefore, says he, 'even these
' Reasons, for it would be te-
' dious to enumerate more,
' may convince us how advan-
' tageous an *Union will be to*
' Great-Britain.' And then,
to shew that it is well worth
the while of *Great-Britain*,
to take us into her Bosom, he
proceeds to paint us in an ami-
able Light, and dress us up
for her Reception, by describing
(tho' very partially) how far
we are able to walk by our-
selves, without the least Con-
currence from her, but even
against her Inclinations or Au-
thority.

' The *Irish*, by a late Spi-
' rit of Improvement, and an
' Emu-

Emulation of Industry, encouraged by Præmiums, however inconsiderable in themselves, are increasing the Wealth of the Nation. The Natives are growing more industrious; their Lands are *a little better* cultivated, and their Manufactures, of all Kinds, improving. Their Progress is indeed slow, but they *are in the right Road*, and every last Step is an Encouragement to proceed. Yet as even a little Addition of Wealth to them, who have lived long in extreme Poverty, is apt to inspire them with Insolence and Vanity, perhaps the *Irish*, influenced by such Motives, may hereafter

' after *unwisely* refuse an Union,
 ' if offered to them ; and cer-
 ' tainly it will never be a wise
 ' Measure to force them to ac-
 ' cept it. The People of *Great*
 ' *Britain* are too sincerely the
 ' Friends of Liberty to attempt
 ' it, and the *Irish* are of too
 ' warm a Spirit tamely to sub-
 ' mit to it.

Let us now consider what
 Advantages the *Irish* may pro-
 mize themselves by an Union.
 Aye, now for it. Let them
 imagine their Country, within
 a few Years, improved in the
 Number of its Inhabitants, in
 the Health of its Climate, in
 the Cultivation of its Lands,
 in a Degree of Riches and Plen-

F ty,

ty, which they must not expect in Ages; according to their *present* Measures of Improvement. (*The Vanity of these Expectations* is already demonstrated.) Let them see their lowest Natives reclaimed from Ignorance and Superstition, and animated with Sentiments of Liberty, which do Honour to human Nature, as well as best secure its Happiness. (This is not to be expected from an Union, witness the common Natives of *Scotland*.) Let them see their Ports opened to the Trade of the World, and their Ships going Abroad with their own Manufactures, and returning with the Blessings which Providence hath divided to different

ent Countries, as if with Design to promote an universal Commerce of good Offices among Mankind, for their mutual Happiness. (How will these Blessings be used, or disposed of, when our Court and Parliament are in *England*? We are told before, p. 28, that after a little Circulation their Produce must all centre in *Great Britain*.) If Ambition have any Effect upon them, let them seize this Opportunity of entering into the Affairs of *Europe*, of having an honourable Share in determining the Fate of other Nations, and fixing their own for ever.

F 2 Aye,

Aye, that would be something indeed. But, pray, what Share would our few Peers and Commoners have in a *British* Parliament? I presume about as much as the *Scots*, who, no Doubt, would oppose every Measure for the Good of *Ireland*, which might be apprehended to interfere with, or eclipse their *Highlands*. There are already several *Irishmen* of great Abilities, and large Estates, who have Seats in the *British* Parliament, and we find by Experience, their Influence cannot extend to prevent a single Clause in an Act of Parliament, levell'd against any Branch of Trade in *Ireland*; Witness the late

late Duty laid upon Sail-Cloth manufactured here. So that all these specious proposed Benefits are mere Pretences, as something was requisite to be advanced to gild the Pill, and conceal the Bait.

At present *Ireland* hath no Character, not even a Name in the Affairs of *Europe*; how will she have a greater Name if united? Is not *Scotland* lost in the Name of *Great Britain*? She will resemble a married Woman, who gives up her Fortune, her Name, and her Liberty, for an Husband, and the Prospect of a Jointure; so *Ireland* must pay her Taxes, lose

lose her Name, and be subject to every Law, every Exaction *Great Britain* shall impose, for the Prospect of a reversionary Trade ; the Benefit or Reality of which, the Author has told us before, p. 21, we are never to enjoy, when he says, *he seems to me to know very little of the Circumstances of either Nation, who pretends to compute in what Century this dreaded Rivalship may happen.* Her little Regalia, her Parliaments, and their Debates, are confined within their own Kingdom ; but should the Union take Place, they are all lost, irretrievably gone for ever ; and the Scots, by losing their Parliament, and other Trophies of Honour, think they have

have delivered up their *All* to the *English* ; who, on the other Hand, are equally dissatisfy'd with giving up any Liberty in Point of Trade to the *Scots*.

And however the Gentlemen of *Ireland* may love to talk of Freedom and Independence, however warm they are in their Sentiments of Liberty, yet these Sentiments, with Regard to them, would, (if united) be purely imaginary ; for as no Nation is truly free, that cannot resent the Insults, and repel the Violence of her Enemies, so *Ireland*, when united, would really have no Being as a Nation, neither domestick Trade, nor foreign Influence, but under

der the Direction of *Great Britain*; and should *Great Britain* withdraw her Protection, *Ireland* must fall a Prey to the first Invader, without even the Power of chusing herself a Master.

And would not all this hold equally true, whether united or not? And is not *Ireland* as secure of *Great Britain's* Protection now, as if under the strictest Bonds of Union? Be assured there is no Danger that *Great Britain* will ever tamely resign so bright a Jewel in her Imperial Crown; and while she protects herself she must protect *Ireland*, as is plain from the Revolution of 1688, when King

King *William* was obliged to reduce *Ireland*, before he could sit quiet on the *English* Throne.

When *Ireland* considers her own Poverty, she must naturally be alarmed at the Names of Taxes, Customs, and Excise. *Very true*, but let her recollect, that although she should be obliged to pay all Duties of Import and Export equally with *Great-Britain*, yet the Sum of the Duties of Exportation will always be proportioned to her Degree of Trade, which will sufficiently enable her to pay them. *That's a very great Question*. And that those of Importation will in a great Measure depend up-

on herself. Not at all, for those Persons who should be the Support of the Nation, will leave the Traders destitute of a Market for their Goods ; which, whether sold or unsold, the Taxes, when imposed, must be levied, and for what? Why, we are told before, (Page 34.) for the Support of *Great-Britain*.

We might here congratulate the *Irish* upon one Duty, which, it is hoped, may effectually put a Stop to their ruinous Trade with *France*, and amount almost to a Prohibition of *French* Wines. Their Lands will soon be better employed, than in grazing Cattle for

for foreign Exportation: How? For we are told before (Page 30.) that we must not employ them in Sheep-walks? Why, if the Gentleman would speak plain *English*, he would say, that we must graze neither Sheep nor Bullocks, nor do any thing else that could interfere with the Trade of *England*, but employ every Acre under Flax, and become a Kingdom of Linen-weavers. Let us thank him for his well spun Arguments, and after exposing them to the Sun, weave them to our own Advantage.

But however the Duties of Import and Export may be rated, the Land-Tax, *the most*

G 2 for-

formidable of all others, will be laid according to the present Valuation of Land; consequently the raised Rents, which may justly be expected from an Union, will never be liable to be taxed. If a Land-Tax should take place, as it certainly would when the Kingdoms were united, and laid according to the present Valuation of Land, it would be the heaviest Tax in his Majesty's Dominions, the Lands in general being now set very high. Yet as no publick Benefit, however great, should be purchased, without absolute Necessity, by doing Injury to private Persons, there is one particular Distress, which deserves to be considered.

There

There are many Estates in *Ireland*, which are let upon Leases of Lives, renewable for ever; consequently, whatever Advantages the Tenants may gain by an Union, the Landlord will be obliged to pay the Land-Tax, without being able to raise the Income of his Estate.

Among other Schemes to redress such Grievances, the following may merit some Regard. The Crown-Rents, and Quit-Rents, which these Estates already pay, and which are in Truth a Land-Tax, although under another Name, may be remitted. A very gracious Allowance this! To remit a Tax,

Tax, which at the utmost does not exceed three Pence an Acre, and in many Places not a Half-penny, to make Room for one of two, three, or four Shillings the Acre; but when such Schemes are proposed, I join with him, that *such Distresses as this are inconsiderable.* It is mentioned only to shew, with how much *Equity* this great Scheme may be executed.

It was not intended in this Paper to propose any Plan of Equalities, upon which an Union might be formed. They may, without Difficulty, be fairly and equitably stated. *To be sure.* The Writer intended only to shew how desirable,

able, how equally advantageous such a Measure may be to both Nations. And by this Time 'tis presumed the Advantages to *Ireland* are pretty obvious. Let him, however, be forgiven, if he presume, tho' *with all due Modesty*, to offer his Sentiments upon a very delicate Part of his Subject, that of bringing the Lords of *Ireland* into the *British Parliament*. When the Number shall be fixed, which can only be done by a Scale of Equalities formed on a Proportion of Taxes, *let them not be elected every Parliament*, as the Peers of *Scotland* are. (The Benefit of *Ireland* is here most pathetically consulted.) If his Ma-
jesty

jesy should be graciously pleased to consent to it, let the Honour of sitting in the *British* House of Peers, with all other Privileges of the Peerage, be granted for Life to the Persons first chosen in their own Country, whether they be chosen there by Ballot or Election. When any of them dies, let another be appointed in the same Manner. Thus all Inconveniences of frequent Elections, Disputes, Quarrels, Animosities will be, in a great Measure, avoided. The Peers of *Ireland* will be more united with those of *Great-Britain*; they will come over independent of the Caprice, Resentments and Inconstancy of their Elec-

Electors ; they will bring with them such unbiassed, uninfluenced Sentiments, as are worthy of a *British* Parliament ; and be divested of all Attachment to the Country, they are by this Means destined to leave for Life.

But indeed there is little Apprehension, that they will bring with them any other Sentiments of Loyalty and Liberty, than those upon which a limited Monarchy is founded. There is, in general, this Difference between the Subjects of the two Kingdoms, that the Protestants of *Ireland* are more clear and unmixed in their Zeal for the present Government.

ment. Their Loyalty to their Prince, and their Love of their Country, are yet untainted with that unhappy Distinction between Court and Country. I had almost said, that unmeaning Distinction. A Prince, who knows our Constitution, if not irritated by an unnecessary, malignant Opposition to his Measures, and the People, if not inflamed by the bad Arts of a few designing, ambitious, turbulent Spirits will easily distinguish, and naturally pursue the publick Good. Their Interests are truly inseparable. They should not be supposed capable of being divided, and ought not to be distinguished away by Party or

or by Factions. May we not hope, that the Gentlemen of *Ireland*, who shall be chosen into either House of Parliament, as they will come disengaged and unbiassed, will have some Influence in preventing the fatal Consequences of these unhappy Divisions; this unnecessary Spirit of Opposition. That is, they are to act the Part given them, to do as they are instructed, and be a dead Weight in the Scale against all Opposition.

Let us now insert the following Sarcasm upon an Order of Men that demand the Reverence of every good Protestant, and acknowledge it as a Difficulty,

culty, in the Execution of this great Plan, which yet seems insuperable; for if no private, single Person should be injur'd for the Sake of whatever Advantages to the Publick, it is with infinite Concern we mention a most venerable Body of Men, the Right Reverend the Lords Bishops of *Ireland*, as likely to suffer most essentially by an Union, and without any possible Equivalent to be paid them. Even the publick Good must suffer with them. To their Eloquence in the House of Lords of *Ireland*, to their Wisdom, that Nation is in a great Measure indebted for all the salutary Laws made there. They would, undoubtedly, bring with them,

them, into a *British* House of Peers, the same Wisdom, the same Eloquence and Integrity; but it were an Outrage to their sacred Character, to propose bringing them so far from the better Business of their holy Function, as it would be Cruelty to expose them to Voyages and Journies, hazardous and fatiguing. I doubt not, that in a just Contempt of the Vanities of this World, they will gladly resign these troublesome Offices of Greatness, which their Obedience to the Laws alone could oblige them to accept, and hereafter place their true Dignity in *adorning the Doctrines* of the Gospel by the Influence of their Example and Preaching.

Other

Other Difficulties may probably arise in forming, and some in executing a Plan of such Extent ; but when we consider how often the Union with *Scotland* was attempted, and in how short a Time at last it was brought about, in Opposition to a national Dislike to it, an antient Antipathy between the Kingdoms, a total Difference of Laws, Religion, Customs, and Manners, we should not be disengaged from attempting a Scheme, in which many of these Difficulties appear ; which promises such large Advantages to *Great-Britain*, greater far than she can possibly enjoy in a separate State.

Not

Not that we mean to represent it as entirely free from Difficulty. It would not then do that HONOUR, which will continue as long as the BENEFITS it shall produce, to the Executioners of it. In Truth, it requires Men of determined Abilities, of hot passionate Tempers, who will meet together with a mutual Spirit of Resolution and Obstinacy, to carry them through the Circumstances and Necessities on either Side ; who can so far throw off the partial Affections and Prejudices of human Nature, as to look upon both Kingdoms as their common Country, for whose Welfare they should be equally

equally zealous. Clamours, Resentments, and Reproaches they must expect from the Populace of both Nations ; but from the Men whose Estates are to be taxed, and from the Colonies of Foreigners to be introduced, they may expect Applause and grateful Acknowledgements ; for a Scheme of this Kind is too large, and of too great a Variety of Parts, for the Generality of People to take in at one View ; yet, by what is advanced, they may perceive the general Tendency of it. Besides, Persons of impartial Interests, and honest Understandings, which are generally joined with warmer Tempers, will find abundant Occasion

tion to represent it in the formidable Light it ought to appear.

So that let us recollect, that there never was, there probably never will be a Time more improper for executing a Union. We are at Peace with the whole World, and his Majesty hath assured us that he has received from all the contracting Powers in the Definitive Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the most full and clear Declarations of their Resolutions to preserve the general Peace. No foreign Power will therefore intermeddle, or attempt to wrest that Kingdom from his Majesty's Sceptre.

I

Let

Let us add, that there never was a Period of Time when *Great Britain* was more at Peace within herself, surely of more Consequence to her Happiness, than to be at Peace with the whole World. The late Rebellion hath convinced the Nation in general, how much the Preservation of our Religion, Property, Liberty, and Laws depends upon the Preservation of his Majesty and his Royal Family; and demonstrates how little *Great Britain* has gained by her Union with *Scotland*, since every Attempt against his Majesty's Crown takes its Rise from that Quarter, and may, probably, be owing

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owing in a good Degree to the Union itself.

The Writer of this Paper would not flatter even a King, nor would he presume to praise him, if he could avoid it. Were it not, therefore, absolutely necessary to our Subject, we would not presume to say, that his Majesty is equally the Father of all his People; and equally concerned for their common Happiness. To his Probity, as an honest Man, *the noblest Work of God*, according to an Expression of Mr. Pope, the Happiness and Interests of Nations might be intrusted. What good Effects therefore may we not promise

our-

ourselves from his Justice, Integrity, and Love for his People? If such a Union should be seriously proposed and rejected, besides the Gratitude of the present Age; it will be remembered to latest Posterity, that the Kingdoms of Great-Britain and Ireland were kept *disunited* when GEORGE the Second was their King, and Mr. Pelham was Chancellor of the *Exchequer*.

To the **F I N I S.**

